

000 from the Indians, who were delighted at the exchange." (id 216.)

•262 **Buffalo Meat.** "Friday, 8th. A fair and pleasant morning, with southeast winds. Pocopsahe came down to the fort with a bow, and apologized for his not having finished a shield which he had promised to Captain Lewis, and which the weather had prevented him from completing. This chief possesses more firmness, intelligence and integrity, than any Indian of this country, and he might be rendered highly serviceable in our attempts to civilize the nation. He mentioned that the Mandans are very much in want of meat, and that he himself had not tasted any for several days. To this distress they are often reduced by their own improvidence, or by their unhappy situation. Their principal article of food is buffalo meat, their corn, beans, and other grain being reserved for summer, or as a last resource against what they constantly dread, an attack from the Sioux, who drive off the game and confine them to their villages. The same fear too prevents their going out to hunt in small parties to relieve their occasional wants, so that the buffalo is generally obtained in large quantities, and wasted by carelessness." (id 217.)

231 **Mandan Horses.** "Tuesday, 12th. The morning is fair though cold, the mercury being 14 degrees below zero, the wind from the southeast. About four o'clock the horses were brought in much fatigued. On giving them meal bran moistened with water they would not eat it, but preferred the bark of the cottonwood, which as is already observed, forms their principal food during the winter. The horses of the Mandans are so often stolen by the Sioux, Ricaras and Assiniboinés, that the invariable rule now is to put the horses every night in the same lodge with the family. In the summer they ramble in the plains in the vicinity of the camp, and feed on the grass, but during cold weather the squaws cut down the cottonwood trees as they are wanted, and the horses feed on the boughs and bark of the tender branches, which are also brought into the lodges at night and placed near them. These animals are very severely treated; for whole days they are pursuing the buffalo, or burdened with the fruits of the chase, during which time scarcely ever taste food, and at night return to a scanty allowance of wood; yet the spirit of this valuable ani-

Chapter VIII

CATFISH-TRAPPING CEREMONY

THIS ceremony was associated with the eagle-trapping bundle, and both possessed a common mythological origin from Black Wolf. There was no direct reference to the fish trap in the Black Wolf myth, but in theory the sacred snare could catch anything. Crows Heart explained that even a buffalo corral was in reality a large snare, so a man owning a sacred snare was selected to stand on a high hill and by means of motions, as of snaring the buffaloes, pulled the animals by its magical powers into the corral.¹ War leaders took their sacred snares along when looking for enemies for supernatural aid in ensnaring and destroying their foes.

Purchase of catfish- and eagle-trapping rites could be made simultaneously, or the fish-trapping rights could be bought at a later date. Some men bought rights in only one of the ceremonies. A seller possessing rights in both ceremonies could sell each ceremony four times. Associated closely with these two ceremonies were the sweat lodge and the snare rites for doctoring and officiating at the buffalo and antelope pounds.

Although the Missouri River carries considerable sediment, catfish are very abundant. The presence of catfish bones in ancient Mandan and Hidatsa villages indicates that considerable use was made of these fish as food.

When a fish trap was in use, the black-bear hide was kept in the owner's lodge, laid out on calicoes on a four-post standard with its head pointing toward the fireplace. Food was offered to the bundle each day while the fish trap was being used.

Ben Benson remembered these Mandan who had catfish-trapping rights about 1880:

1. Black Tongue (Big Turtle). He was also custodian of the Okipa turtle drums, Hoita in the Okipa, owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a singer in the Corn ceremonies.

1. Refer to my manuscript, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," for an account of the ceremonies associated with the buffalo corral.

cultivated by the Mandans, Manitaris, and Arikaras, attains a great height, and is suffered to grow up from the seeds, without having any care whatever bestowed upon it. It is not transplanted. When it is ripe the stalks are cut, dried, and powdered; or the leaves, with the small branches, are cut into little pieces. The taste and smell are disagreeable to an European, resembling camomile rather than tobacco. The plant is not now so much cultivated as formerly, being superseded by the more pleasant tobacco of the Whites; but the species is still preserved. It is only on solemn occasions, for instance, in negotiations for peace, that this tobacco is still smoked; the seed is, therefore, preserved in the medicine bag of the nation, that the plant may never be lost. When they mean to smoke this tobacco, a small quantity of fat is rubbed on it. [278]

The cultivation of the maize and other fields, of which each family prepares three, four, or five acres, takes place in the month of May. Rows of small furrows are made, into which the grains of maize are thrown singly, and covered with earth. Three times in the summer the plants are hoed, and the earth heaped up against them, that the moisture may have better access to them. The harvest takes place in October, when men, women, and children, each lend a helping hand. At present the women use, in their field labour, a broad iron hoe, with a crooked wooden handle, which they obtain from the merchants. Charbonneau recollected the time when they used the shoulder blade of the buffalo for this purpose. The fields are never fenced, but lie quite open and exposed.

The wild plants of the prairie are used by the Mandans, and other people of the Upper Missouri; and to those before-mentioned, I can only add the feverolles (*Faba minor equina*), a fruit resembling the bean, which is said to grow in the ground, but which I did not see; there are many other roots in the prairie, which are used for food. The gourds are eaten fresh as well as dry. The beans are seldom eaten of one kind, but many sorts are mixed together. The maize is boiled or roasted, then pounded, mixed with fat, and made up into small cakes and baked. There are, of course, many other ways of dressing it. The sweet maize has a very pleasant taste, especially when it is in what is called the milky state; it is then boiled, dried, and laid by for use.

All kinds of animals serve the Mandans for food; the bear, when it is young and fat, the wolf, the fox, in short, everything except the horse; the ermine is not eaten by many; and of birds they dislike the turkey-buzzard, and the raven, because they feed on the dead bodies deposited on the stages. They have a great aversion from serpents, but eat the turtle; the buffalo is the chief object of their chase, as it supplies them with skins, meat, tallow, marrow-bones, sinews, and many other necessities. Next to the buffalo the beaver is the most indispensable to them, since it not only furnishes them with valuable skins, but supplies them with delicate food, the fat tail, especially, being considered quite a dainty morsel by the Indians. Pemmican,

262 which is so favourite a dish among the northern Indians, is not much in use among the Mandans. Their only drink is water, for they are unacquainted with the method of preparing fermented liquors. They did not obtain any spirits, either from the American Fur Company, or the agents of Messrs. Soublette and Campbell; hence an intoxicated person is scarcely ever seen. They are extremely fond of sugar, and likewise of salt, which they procure from their lakes, and, if the supply is insufficient, purchase from the Whites. They are likewise fond of coffee and tea, well sweetened. It has been affirmed, that several North American nations, especially those which speak the Algonquin language, are cannibals, and more particularly the Chippeways and the Potawatamies; but I found no trace of this unnatural custom among the Missouri nations.

592 Two, and sometimes three, families usually live together in an Indian hut, commonly the
593 father, with his married sons or sons-in-law. Polygamy is everywhere practised, and the number
596 of wives differs; however, they have very seldom more than four, and, in general, only one. The women are very skilled in various kinds of work, particularly in dyeing and painting the buffalo robes. They extract a red colour from the roots of the saffron, or from buffalo berries; yellow from a lichen of the Rocky Mountains; black from helianthus, as well as from a black stone or clay; blue and green they extract from European substances. Among the Mandans, Manitari, and Arikhara, the women, as Lewis and Clarke relate, manufacture beads from coloured glass. They powder those which they have obtained from the traders, and mould them into different shapes. This custom is, however, no longer common. The dyeing of the skins, of

323 which many travellers have spoken, employs a great portion of the women's time. These three nations understand the manufacture of earthen pots and vessels, of various forms and sizes. The clay is of a dark slate colour, and burns a yellowish-red, very similar to what is seen in the burnt tops of the Missouri hills. This clay is mixed with flint or granite, reduced to powder by the action of fire. The workwoman forms the hollow inside of the vessel by means of a round stone which she holds in her hand, while she works and smooths the outside with a piece of poplar bark. When the pot is made, it is filled and surrounded with dry shavings, and then burnt, 501 when it is ready for use. They know nothing of glazing. With respect to their boats, the North Americans are far more expert than the Brazilians, Patagonians, and other South Americans, who live on the banks of rivers, and yet have contrived no means to pass them. The Chippeways and other northern nations have handsome vessels of birch bark; the Esquimaux makes his kayak, which is curiously covered with seal skin; and on the Missouri, especially among the Mandans, there are boats of buffalo skin, which are represented in the plates accompanying this work. They are very light, of a circular form, stretched on a frame of several pieces of wood crossing each other, and may be carried on the shoulder of a single individual.

584 If a young Indian desires to marry, and has obtained the consent of the girl, he endeavours to procure that of her father; when he is certain of this, he brings two, three, nay, even eight or

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I had thus far progressed, with high-wrought feelings of pleasure, when the two or three chiefs, who had been seated around the lodge, and whose portraits I had before painted, arose suddenly, and wrapping themselves tightly in their robes, crossed my room with a quick and heavy step, and took an informal leave of my cabin. I was apprehensive of their displeasure, though I continued my work; and in a few moments the interpreter came furiously into my room, addressing me thus:—"My God, Sir! this never will do; you have given great offence to the chiefs—they have made complaint of your conduct to me—they tell me this is a worthless fellow—a man of no account in the nation, and if you paint his picture, you must instantly destroy theirs; you have no alternative, my dear Sir—and the quicker this chap is out of your lodge the better."

The same matter was explained to my sitter by the interpreter, when he picked up his robe, wrapped himself in it, plied his fan nimbly about his face, and walked out of the lodge in silence, but with quite a consequential smile, taking his old position in front of the door for awhile, after which he drew himself quietly off without further exhibition. So highly do Mandan braves and worthies value the honour of being painted; and so little do they value a man, however lavishly Nature may have bestowed her master touches upon him, who has not the pride and noble bearing of a warrior.

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I spoke in a former Letter of Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears), the second chief of the nation, and the most popular man of the Mandans—a high-minded and gallant warrior, as well as a polite and polished gentleman. Since I painted his portrait, as I before described, I have received at his hands many marked and signal attentions; some of which I must name to you, as the very relation of them will put you in possession of many little forms and modes of Indian life, that otherwise might not have been noted.

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About a week since, this noble fellow stepped into my painting-room about twelve o'clock in the day, in full and splendid dress, and passing his arm through mine, pointed the way, and led me in the most gentlemanly manner, through the village and into his own lodge, where a feast was prepared in a careful manner and waiting our arrival. The lodge in which he dwelt was a room of immense size, some forty or fifty feet in diameter, in a circular form, and about twenty feet high—with a sunken curb of stone in the centre, of five or six feet in diameter and one foot deep, which contained the fire over which the pot was boiling. I was led near the edge of this curb, and seated on a very handsome robe, most ingeniously garnished and painted with hieroglyphics; and he seated himself gracefully on another one at a little distance from me; with the feast prepared in several dishes, resting on a beautiful rush mat, which was placed between us (PLATE 62).

The simple feast which was spread before us consisted of three dishes only, two of which were served in wooden bowls, and the third in an earthen vessel of their own manufacture, somewhat in shape of a bread-tray in our own country. This last contained a quantity of pem-i-can and marrow-

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- 262 fat; and one of the former held a fine brace of buffalo ribs, delightfully
 264 roasted; and the other was filled with a kind of paste or pudding, made of
 415 the flour of the "*pomme blanche*," as the French call it, a delicious turnip
 of the prairie, finely flavoured with the buffalo berries, which are collected
 in great quantities in this country, and used with divers dishes in cooking,
 as we in civilized countries use dried currants, which they very much re-
 semble.

276 A handsome pipe and a tobacco-pouch made of the otter skin, filled with
 264 k'nick-k'neck (Indian tobacco), laid by the side of the feast; and when we
 were seated, mine host took up his pipe, and deliberately filled it; and
 instead of lighting it by the fire, which he could easily have done, he drew
 from his pouch his flint and steel, and raised a spark with which he kindled
 it. He drew a few strong whiffs through it, and presented the stem of it to
 my mouth, through which I drew a whiff or two while he held the stem in his
 hands. This done, he laid down the pipe, and drawing his knife from his
 belt, cut off a very small piece of the meat from the ribs, and pronouncing
 the words "Ho-pe-ne-chee wa-pa-shee" (meaning a *medicine* sacrifice),
 threw it into the fire.

[576] He then (by signals) requested me to eat, and I commenced, after draw-
 ing out from my belt my knife (which it is supposed that every man in this
 country carries about him, for at an Indian feast a knife is never offered
 to a guest). Reader, be not astonished that I sat and ate my dinner *alone*,
 for such is the custom of this strange land. In all tribes in these
 western regions it is an invariable rule that a chief never eats with his guests
 invited to a feast; but while they eat, he sits by, at their service, and ready
 to wait upon them; deliberately charging and lighting the pipe which is to be
 passed around after the feast is over. Such was the case in the present
 instance, and while I was eating, Mah-to-toh-pa sat cross-legged before me,
 cleaning his pipe and preparing it for a cheerful smoke when I had finished
 my meal. For this ceremony I observed he was making unusual preparation;
 and I observed as I ate, that after he had taken enough of the k'nick-k'neck
 or bark of the red willow, from his pouch, he rolled out of it also a piece of
 the "*castor*," which it is customary amongst these folks to carry in their
 tobacco-sack to give it a flavour; and, shaving off a small quantity of it, mixed
 it with the bark, with which he charged his pipe. This done, he drew also
 from his sack a small parcel containing a fine powder, which was made of
 dried buffalo dung, a little of which he spread over the top, (according also
 to custom,) which was like tinder, having no other effect than that of lighting
 the pipe with ease and satisfaction. My appetite satiated, I straightened up,
 and with a whiff the pipe was lit, and we enjoyed together for a quarter of
 an hour the most delightful exchange of good feelings, amid clouds of smoke
 and pantomimic signs and gesticulations.

251 The dish of "pemican and marrow-fat," of which I spoke, was thus:—The
 first, an article of food used throughout this country, as familiarly as we use

251 and the remainder is gathered and dried on the cob, before it has ripened, and packed away in "*caches*" (as the French call them), holes dug in the ground, some six or seven feet deep, the insides of which are somewhat in the form of a jug, and tightly closed at the top. The corn, and even dried meat and pemican, are placed in these *caches*, being packed tight around the sides, with prairie grass, and effectually preserved through the severest winters.

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● 262 Corn and dried meat are generally laid in in the fall, in sufficient quantities to support them through the winter. These are the principal articles of food during that long and inclement season; and in addition to them, they oftentimes have in store great quantities of dried squashes and dried "*pommes blanches*," a kind of turnip which grows in great abundance in these regions, and of which I have before spoken. These are dried in great quantities, and pounded into a sort of meal, and cooked with the dried meat and corn. Great quantities also of wild fruit of different kinds are dried and laid away in store for the winter season, such as buffalo berries, service berries, strawberries, and wild plums.

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262 The buffalo meat, however, is the great staple and "staff of life" in this country, and seldom (if ever) fails to afford them an abundant and wholesome means of subsistence. There are, from a fair computation, something like 250,000 Indians in these western regions, who live almost exclusively on the flesh of these animals, through every part of the year. During the summer and fall months they use the meat fresh, and cook it in a great variety of ways, by roasting, broiling, boiling, stewing, smoking, &c.; and by boiling the ribs and joints with the marrow in them, make a delicious soup, which is universally used, and in vast quantities. The Mandans, I find, have no regular or stated times for their meals, but generally eat about twice in the twenty-four hours. The pot is always boiling over the fire, and any one who is hungry (either of the household or from any other part of the village) has a right to order it taken off, and to fall to eating as he pleases. Such is an unvarying custom amongst the North American Indians, and I very much doubt, whether the civilized world have in their institutions any system which can properly be called more humane and charitable. Every man, woman, or child in Indian communities is allowed to enter any one's lodge, and even that of the chief of the nation, and eat when they are hungry, provided misfortune or necessity has driven them to it. Even so can the poorest and most worthless drone of the nation; if he is too lazy to hunt or to supply himself, he can walk into any lodge and everyone will share with him as long as there is anything to eat. He, however, who thus begs when he is able to hunt, pays dear for his meat, for he is stigmatized with the disgraceful epithet of a poltroon and a beggar.

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516 The Mandans, like all other tribes, sit at their meals cross-legged, or rather with their ancles crossed in front of them, and both feet drawn close under their bodies; or, which is very often the case also, take their meals in a re-

574 chief gave our horses in charge of a young man, and told us
609 we need not be uneasy as there would be good care taken of them.

574 On going into the hut, we found buffalo hides spread on the
● 262 ground, before the fire, for us to sit upon, and soon after we were presented with two large dishes of boiled corn and beans, after which they gave us another large dish of boiled dried meat, but very few of us could eat of it, as it had too strong a taste and smell.¹

231 After some other details which we omit, Harvey writes that
342 when night came: "One young man brought in our horses, and put them in the same hut along with us, upon the right hand, on entering, and ourselves upon the left; a space was enclosed with a railing to keep them within bounds. This custom causes their habitations to have a very disagreeable and offensive smell. This precaution of theirs is to keep the horses from being stolen by the Assiniboines, or other enemies, who are frequently lurking about the village.

515 "Towards evening, having gone down to the river side, I
291 observed the custom of washing themselves in the Missouri. Both men and women make it a rule, every morning and evening, to go down to the river, and wash for some time; the men make use of the clay to wash their hair, which answers the purpose of soap to take out the white and red earth with which they daub it, after having washed. Modesty in the female sex appears to be a virtue they are unacquainted with. They wear a kind of leather shift which reaches down to the calves of their legs. This they slip off some distance from the shore, and walk very deliberately into the water entirely naked, in the presence of old and young who seem not to pay any attention to them.

2 * * * * * The men make use of
no other covering, in the summer season, than these buffalo robes, and even these are seldom worn within doors, and only thrown on when they go out to visit or walk about the village. Both sexes sleep naked. Their beds are raised about two feet from the ground, and hung around with dressed skins. In summer they seldom use any coverings at night, but lay like so many brutes."² * * * * * Mr. Henry gives a description of their lascivious dances which is too indelicate to publish. He writes under date of:

252 "Sunday, July 20th. At daybreak we were all up, and I
262 took a walk down to the river, where I observed the same ceremony of washing as last evening, with as little reserve as before. Our host on our return presented us with some dried meat, and soon after a dish of corn and beans, but as it is not seasoned with any kind of grease or fat, after the first meal it has a very insipid taste. The corn is generally pounded or bruised in a wooden mortar, which is fixed fast and firm in the ground, in one corner of the hut, and this is the first work performed by the women in the morning.

¹ [Category 116, p. 325.-A] ² [Category 116, p. 326.-A]

LIFE AMONG THE MANDANS.

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and treasures, as it contains every thing he values most, viz : 353
two bulls' heads, which seem to be their great Manitou and protection. They are well daubed over with earth, and particular care is taken of them. There is laid on, or rather hung up, his arms, shield, ammunition, scalps of his enemies, and every thing he most values.

MORTAR AND PESTLE.

Next to this stage, stand the mortar and pestle, fixed firm in the ground, and the remainder of the hut from that to the door is vacant during the daytime, but occupied during the night by the horses. Then there still remains a large space in the center, around the fire, for the use of the family, which is generally swept clean once a day. $\frac{1}{4}$ 342
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CORN STAGE.

Fronting the entrance of each porch stands a stage raised about eight feet from the ground, twenty feet in length, and ten feet in breadth, for the purpose of hanging up their corn to dry, in the fall; these stages have a tolerable good flooring, which in the fall is covered with beans to dry, and posts are erected upon them, on the tops of which are laid poles or rafters, to which the corn and sliced squashes are suspended in tresses to dry. When their harvest is over, they must have a pretty effect, but at this season of the year they are lumbered up with different kinds of drift-wood, of which they make their fires, and it gives a very ugly appearance to the villages. 343
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DRIFT WOOD.

This wood they collect, in the spring, when the ice breaks up, and when great quantities of this wood floats down, the natives being expert swimmers, and so very active, that there is scarcely a large tree escapes them, until they have a sufficient stock for the year. I observed lying opposite to each village, an immense pile of this wood, and some trees of an amazing size. Commonly, when they collect the drift wood there come down numbers of drowned buffalo, that have perished in attempting to cross above, at a season when the ice was bad. These animals the natives are very careful to haul on shore, as they prefer the flesh in that state. [222]
[262]

LIGHT HAired CHILDREN.

An extraordinary sight that struck me among these people, was to see several children, of about ten years of age, whose hair was perfectly gray, and bore a strong resemblance to aged persons. Those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not that strong coarse hair, so peculiar to the natives of North America; it is of a much finer nature, rather inclining to $\frac{1}{2}$ [See Category 14, p. 302.-A.] 142

Sections from Henry's Journal Not Printed in Neill's Version
(page numbers refer to those in the Coues edition of Henry's Journal (1897):

224 [322] We had now a well-beaten path, but were several times in danger of breaking our necks in deep pits which the natives had dug in the path to catch wolves and foxes in winter. Some of them are 10 feet deep, hollowed out to a space about 30 feet in circumference, whilst the entrance is no wider than the foot-path and about five feet in length. Those holes are covered with dry grass at the season when wolves are good, and every morning are found to contain some of those animals. In summer the grass grows strong and high about the mouths, entirely concealing them, until one arrives upon the very brink and is in danger of tumbling in head-long.

491 [323] Before we reached the (Mandan) village, we passed through
241 a wood about two miles long. The road was bad, deep with mud and mire, the river having overflowed there lately. Having got through this wood, we came to several plantations of corn, beans, squashes, and sunflowers—the latter, indeed, grow in every direction, without cultivation, at some distance from the fields, where the seed has been carried by the wind; but such are never gathered by the natives, as they are not so good as those that have been properly sown and taken care of.

● 262 [325] This was just to their own palate, as they seldom eat
574 meat until it begins to smell. We were invited into several huts successively and presented with dried meat in a state of corruption, corn and beans, together with parched corn and fresh ears pounded up in a wooden mortar; this last dish we found good.

439 They soon asked us to trade, and brought buffalo robes, corn,
177 beans, dried squashes, etc.; but we informed them that we did not come here for that purpose, merely to visit them and see the country. They could not comprehend why we should have come so far out of mere curiosity, and said that all white people who came there did so with a view to trade. They suspected that we had goods which we wished to take over the river to the other villages, and were anxious to prevent it. They plagued us until dark, when they retired disappointed.

[p. 384(A)]